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The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

The Questionnaire

Voter: Are you for democracy of merely the Democratic Party ?

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Next Week's Suffragist Will Contain Election Results

THE material in this week's issue of THE SUFFRAGIST, was for the most part, in the hands of the printer before the results of the election were known, although the paper is dated November 9. Next week's issue will contain a complete analysis of the campaign from the standpoint of the National Woman's Party, while this issue simply completes the story of the sort of campaign the women have conducted in the election contest.

Following the President

THE Governor General of the Philippines, Mr. Harrison, in his message delivered at the opening of the Philippine Congress, recommended woman suffrage.

Indignation at Picket Treatment

MR. H. R. Walmsley, Republican candidate for the legislature from the sixth district of Missouri, has sent word to the National Woman's Party that if elected to the Missouri Legislature he will introduce a resolution denouncing the treatment of the pickets at Washington, received at the hands of Senate employees.

A Bi-Party Combine

THE intrusion of anti-suffrage senators into the state referendum campaign for suffrage in Michigan is creating considerable dissatisfaction among the people of Michigan, who feel that since the state committees of both political parties have declared in favor of suffrage it is not the place for outside opponents to the measure to interfere. The speech against the suffrage amendment delivered by Senator Reed has been franked through the state by Senator Wadsworth.

One newspaper remarks:

"It would not be so surprising if Senator Wadsworth had distributed one of his own speeches, or if Senator Reed had franked this speech about. But when a New York Republican franks the speech of a Missouri Democrat and a document from a New Mexican Republican, for distribution in a campaign in which not one of the three has any part, politicians of all sects and parties are somewhat bewildered."

Not to be Outdone

AT the close of the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist conference which has been held in London, the British Woman's Party, that is Mrs. Pankhurst's Party, issued a statement containing the paragraph,

"With respect to the demands that the workers should be represented at the peace conference of the belligerent governments, and should hold a concurrent international conference of their own, the Women's Party points out that the labor and Socialist sections, in common with all other sections of the community, have elected constitutional representatives in their own government, and have, therefore, no greater claim than other sections to have additional representation at the peace conference. If, however, the British Laborists and Socialists should succeed in getting the additional representation which they demand, the Women's Party also will insist upon having its own special representative at the official peace conference."

Women Voters of Iceland

THE women of Iceland have been celebrating the third year of their enfranchisement. There are some curious turns in the Icelandic franchise laws. The age limit for voters for certain offices is thirty-five for men and forty years for women. For each election one year is taken off the women's voting age until it shall have become equal to that of the men. At the election for members of the lower House of the Parliament the age limit for male voters is twenty-five and that of women voters forty. With only one year coming off for each election it will be a good many years before the women will be voting on equal terms with the men. This discrimination does not seem to be bothering the women. It is a well known fact that the position of women in Iceland has been more advanced for many years than that of women in the other countries of the world. The island is not so cold that it has frozen out justice. Women are accepted equally with men in all professions.

Some German Women Vote

A BOOK has recently been published in Germany dealing with the franchise of women in the various sections of the German empire. It tells facts that are little known in this country, namely, that in certain parts of Germany some women exercise the right of the franchise. Independent women—that is landed proprietors, and independent women of means, may cast their vote personally for the rural councils of the province of Hanover, the kingdom of Saxony, the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, the Hansa towns of Lubeck, and Bremen, and Meckelburg-Schwerin. For the other rural councils of Prussia, with the exception of the Rhine province, they may only record their vote bv means of a male proxy. The same rule applies for the town and rural councils of Hohenzollern, in Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, and in Schwarzburg Rudolstadt. These measures of representation for women are based solely upon property and not on sex, nevertheless they give to women of one class more representation than any women have in many of the states in the United States.

Nebraska Suffrage Law Holds

THE efforts of the opponents of woman suffrage in Nebraska have failed in the attempt to have the law now in force granting women of the state partial suffrage—namely the right to vote for President and municipal officers—submitted to the male voters at the coming election as a referendum. Already the district court had decided that such action would not be lawful, now the supreme court of the state upholds the decision of the lower court. Women will not, however, be permitted to vote in the election on November 5 because the district court ruled that the law should be suspended until the final decision was made as to whether or not it could be brought up before a referendum. The opponents of suffrage apparently will not cease to work to have state suffrage laws nullified until the national amendment is at last put into the constitution.

Another Age Limit for Voters

A DISPATCH from Melbourne states that there has been introduced in the Queensland State Assembly a bill to enable "males and females of 18 years of age or over" to vote.

Picketing Against German Toys

IN order to prevent Americans from buying German made toys the American Relief League has determined to picket every shop in New York where the toys which have just arrived in this country on a Dutch ship will be sold. The pickets presumably will request all possible purchasers not to buy the German goods or else they will carry banners setting forth their request. It is safe to predict that these pickets will receive the most courteous treatment at the hands of the police. Women picketing for so small a thing as children's toys will be allowed to make their protest. Women who demand so fundamental a thing as their enfranchisement must submit to every sort of indignity when they picket to call attention to the injustices in American democracy.

International Suffrage Alliance Regrets Senate Action

THE *International Woman Suffrage News* comments on the defeat of the suffrage amendment:

"The nationwide enfranchisement of American women is postponed. All who know the spirit of American suffragists will know that their struggle will only be intensified by this temporary setback; the chief matter for regret is that such an immense volume of energy should be locked up in the struggle for the vote, whereas by granting the vote it would be liberated for constructive social work."

The same paper quotes the *London Times* as saying:

"The *New York Times* suggests that the suffragists should abide by the result for the duration of the war, and allow Congress to devote its efforts exclusively to war activities. There are indications that this advice will not be followed. There is some suggestion that the suffragists will continue their efforts to gain two votes in Senate from among their opponents, as this would ensure the passage of the amendment which Senator Jones will move to be reconsidered."

Beat Baird in New Jersey

By Vivian Pierce

NEW Jersey—its men and women and its newspapers today—November 4—predict the election of Charles O'Connor Hennessy and the defeat of Senator David Baird, on the ground that he is willing to stand by the President on suffrage. Senator Baird, a reactionary nearly eighty years of age was not willing to take a stand for democracy in the Senate.

The New Jersey fight for the election of Charles O'Connor Hennessy in New Jersey was made solely on suffrage grounds. "Vote for Hennessy, the man who believes in ALL of the President's war policies, not part of them," became one of the campaign slogans. Hennessy's fight was conceded to be a suffrage fight. The fact that dozens of women from remote states and from near states came to New Jersey to help elect Hennessy for the short term to the Senate because the suffrage vote was hanging by one vote in the present Congress, was resented by no one. New Jersey men proved by their attitude that they had come all the way. The whole Hennessy campaign made the women of New Jersey remember their referendum fight. There were the motor parades and the colors and the woman campaigners—but the character of the opposition had changed. There was no open opposition. A great state twenty minutes from New Jersey had enfranchised its women since that 1915 campaign. The pro-Baird sentiment, the anti-suffrage sentiment in New Jersey, if it exists, is the secret and insidious variety that cannot be combatted by open campaign.

DURING the five weeks campaign of women in New Jersey, a campaign which has drawn notable women from many states into the fight, every one of the twenty-one counties of New Jersey has been reached; even the remotest towns have been inundatd with literature explaining the Senate suffrage situation which makes desirable the defeat of Senator Baird; and finally mass meetings both in the North and South were held, meetings which were an index as to the strong popular sentiment for Hennessy as an exponent of democracy with a small *d*.

In Newark, the population center of the state, a final mass meeting was held November 2 at the New Auditorium, at which Dudley Field Malone, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins and Charles O'Connor Hennessy were speakers, with Miss Vida Milholland as soloist. Newark girls wearing the suffrage colors acted as ushers. The big hall was decorated in the colors of the Woman's Party, colors which have come to mean Hennessy for the Senate in every part of New Jersey. The critical situation for women was analyzed by each speaker—just what it would mean to the women of this nation in the coming trying days to be voiceless, still concentrating on the fight for fundamental democracy.

A MORE unusual close to the campaign began on the day following when a twenty-four hour mass meeting was held in Newark, making the demand for the election of Hennessy because of his value to the national suffrage battle plain to every voter. The meetings were held at the apex of Military Park, and started at six in the morning, when the early workers were pouring toward the tubes to New York or toward the factories. Thousands stopped long enough to hear just what the election of Charles O'Connor Hennessy meant to women.

The meetings were held from the car of Mrs Helena Hill Weed, of Norwalk, Conn., who opened the meeting. From the decorated car with its suffrage bunting and American flags draped over the great Hennessy banner promptly at six the sound of a bugle arrested the early workers. The reveille and salute to the colors were played by "Lieutenant" Kenneth Lind, of Perth Amboy, a twelve-year-old lad who is the mascot of the home militia and the lieutenant of his school.

Among the long array of speakers were Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Connecticut; Mr. Spencer Miller, of Orange, N. J.; Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, of Minneapolis, Minn.; Miss Leslie Hill, of Morristown, N. J.; Miss Mary Dubrow, of Passaic, N. J.; Mrs. R. M. Laird, of Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Robert Baker, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Vida Milholland, of New York; Mrs. Mary Beard, of New York; Mrs. O. L. Moses, of Montclair, N. J.; Mrs. F. P. Walther, of Montclair, N. J.; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, of New York; Miss Helen Todd, of New York; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of Morristown, New Jersey; Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore; Mr. A. C. Young, of Alaska; Miss Margeretta Schuyler, of New York; Miss Pauline Angel, of New York; Miss A. Richards, of New York; Miss Lucy Elliott, of New York; Miss Grace Needham, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Vivian Pierce, Mr. Allen McCurdy, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Miss Elsie May, of Newark, N. J.; and others.

Miss Helen Todd spoke at midnight, following her long day of election activity in New York. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch spoke first at nine in the evening and a second time within the hour. Miss Vida Milholland delighted the large crowds that assembled throughout the day by singing suffrage and patriotic songs, beginning at 11 in the morning and at intervals until three o'clock.

The Newark Committee, under Mrs. R. M. Laird, served hot coffee and sandwiches to the speakers throughout the long day. During the afternoon a sharp rainstorm blew up, but neither the speakers nor the audience were discouraged. Umbrellas appeared and meetings went on without interruption except for the singing of Miss Milholland, the playing of the boy bugler, or the occasional questions from the crowd. A large part of the audience was constantly made up of men in uniform. If respectful attention is any indication Charles O'Connor Hennessy is elected to the Senate.

The campaign is conceded to be one of the most effective which has ever been waged by the National Woman's Party. The able leadership of the state chairman, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, has been most brilliantly and energetically supported by the host of workers who responded to the call for help to defeat one of the men responsible for the failure of the amendment.

THE campaign in the southern part of the state has been directed by the Pennsylvania branch, co-operating with the New Jersey branch. Miss Ruth Small remained in Camden in charge of the headquarters there. She planned meetings in front of the big industrial plants at the noon hour when the men came out for lunch. In the evenings street meetings were held. Members from Philadelphia came to speak and loaned automobiles.

On October 30 at noon a meeting was held at the New York Ship Yards by Mrs. Robert Irving, of Haddonfield; Mrs. Raymond Donges, of Camdem; Miss Martha Davis and Miss Caroline Katzenstein, of Philadelphia; and Miss Small. The next evening Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy took from Philadelphia in her car Miss Mary H. Ingham, Pennsylvania chairman; Miss Sophie Dulles, Miss Clara Michelbach, and Miss Anna McCue. Mrs. Hilles spoke in Camden on Saturday night.

Other campaigners in the southern part of the state were Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, and Miss Lucy Burns; they spoke in Atlantic, Bergen, Cape May and Cumberland counties. Miss Lucy Branham arranged for these meetings. At an open air meeting at which Miss Burns spoke in Cape May on November 2, there were about a thousand people present, who listened eagerly to the story of the desertion of the President by Senator Baird.

Mrs. Hilles has been speaking to audiences of factory employees throughout the state. Her appeal to these groups is especially strong since she has herself been working in a munition factory in Delaware for many months. She spoke before the thousand employees of the Singer factories at Plainfield, to factory groups in Camden and Paterson. The factory meetings were also covered by Miss Mary Dubrow, of Passaic. Miss Dubrow is a very young girl who has developed a remarkable faculty for speaking. She has made a tremendous impression wherever she has urged audiences throughout the state to elect Hennessy.

Miss Gladys Greiner, Miss Lucy Branham, Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, continued their systematic work of organizing meetings and committees for distributing literature up to the very time the voters were starting for the poles. The colors of the National Woman's Party and the name of Hennessy have been made known to every person in the state of New Jersey through the efficient work of the women who have campaigned for suffrage. The suffrage campaign was the one met at every turn in the road, at every street corner, in every by-street and at every factory door in the state of New Jersey. Every newspaper in the state has carried daily stories of the campaign to defeat Baird because he voted against the federal suffrage amendment.

New Hampshire Campaign

IN New Hampshire, as in New Jersey, the most effective sort of campaign has been made by women who are fighting for the suffrage amendment. Here as in other places where the National Woman's Party has campaigned, the appeal of the women is stronger than any partisan one which can be opposed to them. Added to the strong non-partisan appeal of the women a point in their favor is the extreme unpopularity of their opponent, the Republican candidate, Mr. Moses.

Mrs. Agnes Jenks, of Rhode Island, who had formerly worked in New Hampshire for suffrage, brought great pressure to bear upon Moses for a declaration in favor of suffrage. It was impossible to obtain any assurance from him that he would support the amendment if elected. While in the state she conferred with the leading Republicans and with the leaders of the large French Canadian population in the northern part of the state. She found much sympathy among these French voters for suffrage and has every hope that many of them will "scratch" the Republican ticket, which they usually vote straight, in order to show their disapproval of the stand of the Republican candidate against suffrage.

Miss Katherine Morey has had charge of the distribution of vast quantities of literature which was sent through the mails to the voters. In this work she was ably assisted by the state suffrage organization.

Mrs. Agnes H. Morey and Miss Maud Younger spoke throughout the state wherever it was possible to hold meetings. Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald and Miss Louise Hall, of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, were also very active in the anti-Moses campaign. Miss Younger's appeal to labor groups to vote for Jamison was strengthened by a telegram which she received from Mr. Frank P. Walsh, of the National War Labor Board, in which he urged the support of the labor groups of the state for the Democratic candidate.

However the election may result in this state as in New Jersey, the powerful influence of the woman suffrage workers in a political campaign is more fully realized than it has ever been in the eastern part of the country. All political leaders must now recognize the fact that women must be considered politically and that until their complete enfranchisement is won they will not align themselves with any political party, but will work efficiently and ceaseless for their enfranchisement.

The Western Campaign

THREE days before the election Miss Paul has wired the following statement to each of the seven states where women will be voting for members of the United States Senate on November 5.

"We send a last appeal just before election to all voting women to help the women who are still disfranchised in their battle for political freedom. We ask you to remember that the Democratic Party defeated suffrage in the Senate in spite of the President's appeal to pass it as a war measure. We ask you to remember that the Democratic Party since this defeat has done nothing to win the two votes still lacking. We ask you to remember that the Democratic Party which controls the Senate is day after day illegally arresting suffragists who are protesting at the Senate, and confiscating their property. For the sake of all women we ask you to protest against the treatment of suffrage by the Democratic Party by voting against Democratic candidates for Congress."

THE representative of the National Woman's Party in each of these states sends word back to headquarters that women voters are preparing to do what the Woman's Party is urging. Word from Miss Clara Wold in Oregon states that the committee of the Woman's Party there is heartily in sympathy with the national policy of the organization and is supporting with votes Miss Paul's plea. The committee is working energetically for the defeat of the Democratic candidate for the Senate.

Miss Pollitzer, who has been in Wyoming, reports that dodgers are being distributed throughout the state, that in Cheyenne banners twenty feet high have been placed on buildings in conspicuous locations urging women to oppose the Democratic candidate for the Senate. Mrs. George Brimmer, of Rawlins, has charge of the campaign in her section of the state and is putting the record of the Democrats on suffrage in the hands of every woman voter. The entire city of Cheyenne is now discussing the Woman's Party campaign in the state and the picketing campaign in Washington. In the latter, as well as the former, the women show much interest and ask eagerly for all the facts.

Miss Catherine Flanagan, in Montana, has conducted a most effective campaign with handbills. Her work in the state against the Democratic candidate has made so striking an impression that since she arrived the Democrats have spent their time securing from various important administration officials endorsement of the Democratic candidate, Senator Walsh, on his suffrage stand. In spite of letters from cabinet ministers and suffrage leaders in the Senate women have the facts of the vote as taken in the Senate showing Democrats fifty-seven per cent for, Republicans seventy-three per cent. They are, therefore, throwing in their lot with the Woman's Party.

Miss Elsie Hill reports that there are no meetings allowed in Nevada. She is making use of handbills and advertising. She has visited in the past week Reno, Ely, and Elco. Miss Margaret Whittemore is continuing the intensive work in Idaho. Mrs. Louise Garnett in Kansas with the co-operation of Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, state chairman, is conducting a successful state-wide campaign.

IN no state is the indignation of the women against the Democratic Party more strongly evidenced than in Colorado. The advertising placards of the National Woman's Party urging voters to oppose the Democratic candidate for the Senate meet one at every turn, in every street car, and on every street corner. Hundreds of women are taking an active part in the campaign as directed by the state executive committee.

The situation with regard to the women voters has been summed up by one of the leading papers of Wyoming, the *State Tribune*, of Cheyenne:

"The responsibility for the blocking of this measure rests on the Democrats. On November 5 women of the country will have their first opportunity to protest with their votes against the defeat of suffrage.

"The women of America have a right to accept this as the policy of the Democratic Party now and for the future."

THE disapproval in the West in the situation at Washington is expressed in a Colorado newspaper:

"Despite the fact that they but follow in the footsteps of the President in asking the Senate for their right of suffrage, members of the National Woman's Party in Washington are still being forcibly put under arrest, robbed of their property and held in the basement of the Capitol during the sessions of the upper House of Congress. True democrats, with a small d cannot but wonder why if the women must be consigned to the basement jail for standing silently on the front porch, the President was not regularly incarcerated for going right in and speaking up in meeting."

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

on the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor, Miss Clara Wold

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913. at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

The Election Results

WOMAN suffrage comes out of the election with greater prestige and a stronger political position than it has ever held.

Never has suffrage been made such a test issue in an election. We asked the women voters, since there were no individual opponents of suffrage in their territory except in Idaho, to oppose the Democratic Party as responsible for the defeat of suffrage. They responded as never before. In all but two of the suffrage states, the Democratic candidate against whom we campaigned was defeated. In those two, Montana and Nevada, the Democratic majority was so reduced that it was two days before it was known which candidate was elected.

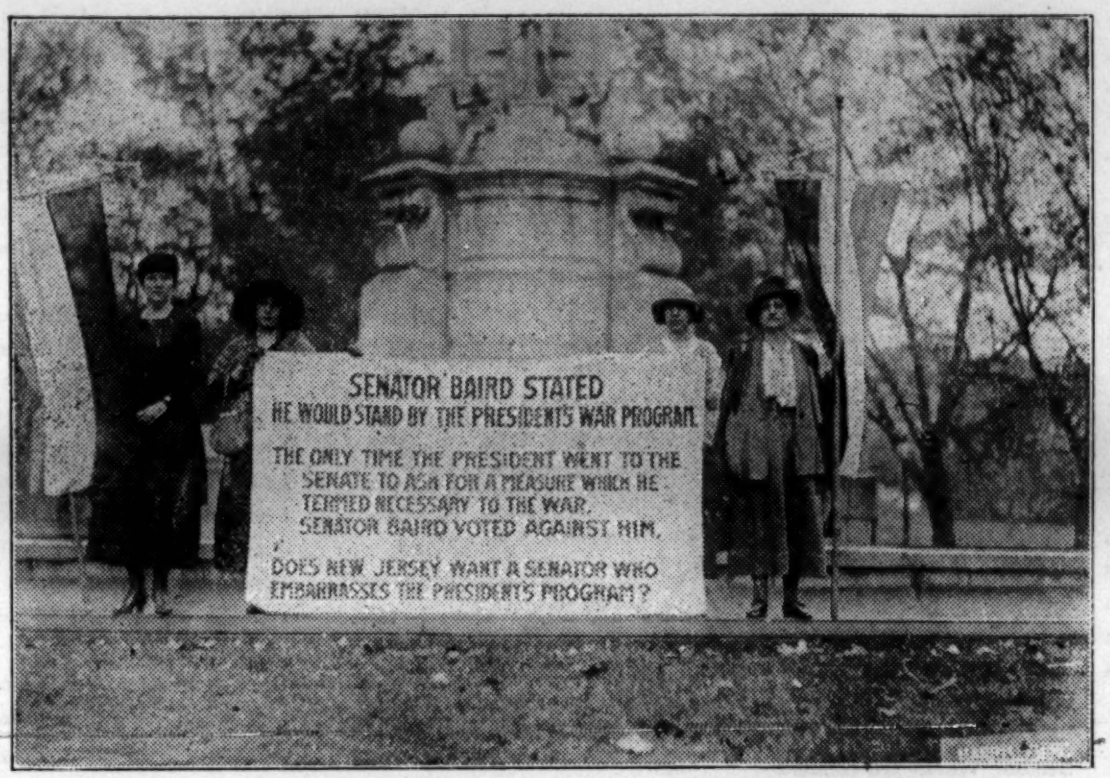
Not only has the Democratic Party received a strong rebuke for its treatment of suffrage, but individual opponents have learned that suffrage can no longer be opposed with impunity. Outside of the South where the elections last Tuesday were merely confirmations of the primary results, every Senator seeking re-election who had voted against suffrage, except two, was defeated. Senator Saulsbury, President pro-tem of the Senate and one of the outstanding opponents of the amendment in that body, went down to defeat before a suffragist, though his position had been considered impregnable. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, a foremost anti-suffrage leader on the Republican side, also met his defeat at the hands of a strong supporter of suffrage. The result of the recent primaries in South Carolina and Georgia was confirmed at the elections this week, when Senators Benet and Hardwick, who voted against the amendment, were defeated by Mr. Pollock and Mr. Harris, both of whom are suffragists. In Kentucky, a suffragist, Governor Stanley, was elected to the seat left vacant by the death of Ollie James, a long-time and well known suffrage opponent. In New Jersey, a suffragist, Governor Edge, was elected to succeed Senator Baird, who voted against suffrage in the Senate last month.

Of the four vacant seats formerly held by anti-suffragists which were filled this week for the remainder of the present Congress ending in March, one was won by Mr. Pollock, as already stated a pronounced supporter of the amendment; a second by Mr. Gay, of Louisiana, who voted for suffrage in the recent Louisiana referendum but has not yet declared his support of the national amendment; and a third by Senator Baird who, though re-elected over a suffragist, ran about forty thousand behind the normal Republican majority in his state. In the fourth case, in New Hampshire, it is still undecided whether Mr. Jameson, a pronounced suffragist, or his opponent, Mr. Moses, who has made no declaration on suffrage, is elected.

Suffrage, therefore, emerges from the election with the certain gain of at least one vote and the possible gain of three in the Present Senate. It emerges also with its position immeasurably strengthened because the election has taught beyond dispute that opposition to suffrage is not politically safe for either parties or individuals, and because the assured two-thirds majority it has given to suffrage in the session of the Senate beginning in March must demonstrate to the present Senate that opposition to the amendment is not only politically unwise but futile since it can at best delay the passage of the measure by only a few months.

With the elections behind us, and strengthened by the results therefrom, we turn again to the battle with the Senate, determined that before these hundred days remaining in this Congress have gone the suffrage amendment shall have passed.

Picketing on the Eve of Election


SENATOR BAIRD STATED
HE WOULD STAND BY THE PRESIDENT'S WAR PROGRAM.
THE ONLY TIME THE PRESIDENT WENT TO THE SENATE TO ASK FOR A MEASURE WHICH HE TERMED NECESSARY TO THE WAR, SENATOR BAIRD VOTED AGAINST HIM.
DOES NEW JERSEY WANT A SENATOR WHO EMBARRASSES THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM?

Miss Eleanor Calnan, Mrs. Frances Davis, Miss Julia Emory and Miss L. G. C. Daniels

THE week which is ending on November 2, has witnessed attacks by the appointees of the United States Senate, upon every principle of democracy and justice, not to mention the guarantees of freedom laid down by law, for which this country is supposed to stand. Not only the rights of free speech and petition which are violated at every turn, but also the principle of habeas corpus has been disregarded. The government, furthermore, through its Capitol police, who sieze suffrage banners and refuse to return them to their owners, has become a common thief. There is no possible justification for the unlawful proceedings of the Capitol guards. They attempt no justification or excuse, they simply use their superior physical force to ill-treat women and to sieze their property as a pick-pocket might use his. Women are pushed roughly off the Capitol grounds when they were not carrying banners or in any way attempting to stage a demonstration, when they were walking away from the Capitol they were carried to the guard-room again and held for almost an hour.

The sergeant-at-arms of the Capitol who represents the Senate in the transactions between the suffragists and the police, stated in the presence of several witnesses that he is bound by no laws and that he has absolute power to do what he pleases to anyone who enters the Capitol grounds.

This despotic and unjust treatment which women are receiving in their fight for freedom is increasing rather than diminishing their determination to continue their vivid and courageous demonstrations until the inevitable success. Many women are remaining in Washington solely to take part in the daily picketing. Miss Eleanor Calnan, of Massachusetts, and Miss L. G. C. Daniels, of Vermont, are here as proof of the zeal and perseverance of New England women in this suffrage fight, in the face of the bitter opposition of so many of the New England senators to the measure.

ON Tuesday, October 29, the day after twenty-one pickets were held all afternoon in the Capitol, two pickets went to the Capitol with a banner inscribed "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." Again they were held all afternoon. After they were released and were walking to the car, they were seized and held for another hour.

It was decided that the suffrage banners would be held on Wednesday at the north front of the Capitol instead of at the south front where they had been held formerly. At nine in the morning five women arrived at the Peace Monument, two holding a banner condemning the opposition of Senator Baird to suffrage, and three others with tri-colors. After standing here for an hour unmolested, the women determined to march to the front of the Capitol and stand on the Senate steps. When they got half way they were seized, locked up, and held until six o'clock without charges preferred against them.

After consultation with the attorney of the Woman's Party, it was decided on Thursday to appeal to the court for a writ of habeas corpus to get the women out of the room where they have been locked each day.

At nine in the morning the line of four pickets was formed on the steps of the Senate office building. Immediately after the women were locked in the Capitol in the usual way, Mr. M. E. O'Brien, the lawyer, applied to Judge Siddons, of the District Supreme Court, for a writ of habeas corpus. The judge declared that the situation was intolerable, that the Capitol sergeant-at-arms had no right to hold anyone without a charge against her, and that he must either make a charge of the violation of some code or release the suffragists. Since there was no charge, the sergeant sent the order for release. The judge left word where he could be found if there should be any further violation of the habeas corpus principle, or if his advice should be needed. When the pickets, reassured by the action of the court, went back in the afternoon with an amendment banner, they were astonished to be seized in the usual fashion, their banners wrenched from their hands and themselves taken to the guard-room but detained for a few minutes only. Their banners were not returned to them. The sergeant no longer dared to hold women in the face of the commands of a supreme court judge, he continued, however, to confiscate the suffrage banners.

On Friday the women were released as soon as their banners had been seized. This action was repeated several times in the course of the day; each time fresh banners were brought. Judge Siddons was again consulted, this time in regard to whether or not the police had a right to keep possession of the banners. He stated that the sergeant had no legal power to confiscate private property. It is understood that the district attorney acquainted the sergeant-at-arms with this fact. The banners, however, were not returned to their owners.

MR. O'Brien made the following statement, bearing upon the legal side of the holding of pickets:

"Whether or not the women have committed an offense is of minor importance compared with the intolerable offense of the police of the Capitol in taking citizens into custody without bringing charge against them or permitting them any of the rights of counsel accorded prisoners under our law. If petty officers of the Government are thus allowed to arrest at will, and release at their pleasure there is no freedom worthy of the name in this country."

On Saturday a group of women walked up and down in front of the Senate office building with black mourning bands on their arms in commemoration of the death of justice in the United States Senate. All day they marched back and forth telling passersbys the story of the death of democracy at the hands of thirty-four members of the Senate.

The women were closely watched by the police and followed into the building when they went in for lunch. The protest was continued all day by six women, among them Miss Edna Dixon, who has just returned from a week campaigning in New Jersey. On Monday the banners will again be taken to the Capitol by the pickets.

Women Oppose Wilful Thirty-four

OF the thirty-four men who voted against the suffrage amendment in the Senate, there were only ten who will come before the voters of their states for re-election on November 5. Of these two were not up for re-election—Senators Guion, of Louisiana, and Drew, of New Hampshire;. Three more had their fight decided in the primaries—Hardwick and Benet were defeated in the primary, Senator Bankhead, of Alabama, was as good as elected when he won his primary fight. This leaves six senatorial campaigns in which women could take part to express their indignation and protest against the delay in the passage of the suffrage amendment. The principle fight of the women was made, of course, in New Hampshire and New Jersey, where the appointed senators will be replaced by their successors immediately after the election. The women in the other four states nevertheless have made splendid fights against the opponents whose terms will end on the fourth of March.

In Massachusetts the women opposed the re-election of Senator Weeks; in Tennessee they opposed Senator Shields; in Deleware they opposed Senator Saulsbury; and in Idaho they opposed Senator Borah.

THE state chairman of the National Woman's party in Tennessee, Miss Sue S. White, first sent a telegram to the President as follows:

"You ask the people to return a Democratic majority in order that you may not be hampered in carrying on the war. Tennesseeans desire to know if this request applies specifically to the Democratic nominee in this state for the U. S. Senate, Honorable Jno. K. Shields, who voted against the federal suffrage amendment after you urged its passage in an address to the Senate proclaiming it to be vitally essential to the winning of the war and to the right solution of the problems which would come after the war."

She received no answer to this communication. She therefore used her influence and the strength of her organization against the re-election of Senator Shields. The difficulties of women working in states where they have not votes are perfectly apparent. Nevertheless the women are able to reach voters through advertising and the distribution of leaflets and to explain the stand of the candidates on suffrage. These methods have been used in Massachusetts, Tennessee, Idaho, and Delaware.

In Massachusetts much campaign material was distributed and mailed through the state by the suffragists. The influence of this work will undoubtedly be seen when the votes for and against Senator Weeks are counted.

IN Delaware Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles appealed to the state with the following letter:

"The Delaware Branch of the National Woman's Party, which includes seven hundred members, to say nothing of the thousands of women in this state who believe in equal rights for women, would rejoice to see Senator Saulsbury repudiated at the polls tomorrow for his undemocratic stand in behalf of political liberty for women and the fact that he repudiated the appeal made by the President declaring the federal suffrage amendment a war measure. Senator Saulsbury voted that we should go into a war for a Democratic principle and voted to deny democracy at home. All believers in real democracy will rejoice to see Senator Saulsbury succeeded by a man who has pledged himself to support the federal suffrage amendment. Such a man is Dr. L. Heisler Ball."

The National Woman's Party is organized in every county of the state and is able to exert great pressure in an election through this close touch with all sections of the state.

In Idaho the situation is quite a different one from that in any of the other states since the women there can vote themselves. The newspapers of the state carried quarter page advertisements appealing directly to the women saying:

"Senator Borah voted against suffrage for all American women.

"President Wilson, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, told the United States Senate that the success of the national suffrage amendment is necessary to the winning of the war.

"Senator Borah voted against this war measure; he voted against the expressed demands of the women of Idaho; he voted against his party platform; he voted against the women of America.

"Vote against Senator Borah."

Women all over the country will scan more eagerly than ever before the election returns to see whether or not the men who have repudiated women have been returned to the Senate.

A Federal Appreciation of Woman's Altered Status

By Felix M. Morley

ONE of the most significant and far-reaching appreciations of the change in status brought to American women by the war comes from the United States Employment Service, the agency of the Department of Labor through which the Government's centralized war labor recruiting and distributing program is being carried. By a recent decree of the Employment Service women have been vested with equal responsibility with men in the administration and execution of the war labor supply program.

This step, a direct result of the larger participation of women in industry necessitated by the demands of war, is highly unlikely to be limited in its significance to the war emergency which caused it. The action looks ahead to the days of reconstruction and the era which will follow the war. It is a tacit acceptance of the thesis that women are vitally involved in the nations' economic structure; that they will never withdraw from many of the occupations which they have assumed in answer to the nation's need.

The status of women in this country has changed and greatly changed in the nineteen months America has been at war, the fact that the Senate refuses to recognize this condition notwithstanding. With every new detachment that leaves for the draft cantonments, with every day that passes the burden of war production is shifted a little further onto the shoulders of our women workers—and settles there securely. The Employment Service has in its possession a list of nearly 300 distinct occupations necessary to the conduct of the war now being filled successfully by women. Hundreds of thousands of women occupy vital positions in the essential industries. Great numbers who never worked before are replacing men in our factories and stores. On the farms, as regular "hands" as well as part time and emergency workers the American woman has met the situation in a manner which five years ago would have been unconceivable.

It is noteworthy that this social readjustment is already a fait accompli in the eyes of the Department of Labor, the branch of the Government which has most intimate contact with the changed industrial conditions basic to the coming era. Equal wage for equal work has been ruled by the War Labor Policies Board—an appreciation of the economic status of the woman worker—and has been upheld in test cases by the National War Labor (Taft-Walsh) Board. The Woman In Industry Service of the Department of Labor, a separate arm of the Department, officered by women, has been established to pass regulations as to the standards of women's employment and supervise the larger introduction of women into

America's industrial life. And lately the National War Labor Board, because of the number of cases involving women workers which come before it, has referred the question of adding one or two women to its membership to the two organizations which nominated its original membership—the National Industrial Conference Board and the American Federation of Labor.

Far from least is the action in the granting of full suffrage powers to women in the administration of the program of the United States Employment Service. Before the significance of this step can be properly appreciated a word as to the organization of the United States Employment Service is necessary.

SINCE its reorganization as a distinct unit of the Department of Labor last January the Employment Service has established throughout the nation nearly 900 local employment offices, a number of them incorporations of former state and municipal employment exchanges. This is the machinery through which the Service functions. National policy and regulations emanate from the Administrative Headquarters in the Department of Labor at Washington, but the entire administrative system is highly decentralized, the state serving as the unit and the Employment Service machinery in each state being in charge of a Federal Director of employment who is directly responsible to the Director General of the Employment Service at Washington.

The vital responsibility of keeping the war plants of the nation supplied with labor the Federal Employment Service holds by virtue of a resolution adopted last June by the War Labor Policies Board, representing all branches of the Government engaged in war production. "All recruiting of industrial labor for public or private work connected with the war," this resolution said in part, "shall be conducted through or in accordance with methods authorized by the United States Employment Service."

To insure that the dangerous problems involved in this responsibility would be handled without discrimination the Employment Service took action precedent for which had been established in the creation of the National War Labor Board with its equal representation of industrial management and industrial wage earners. Representatives of industrial management and labor were called upon in every state to act with the Service in an advisory and supervisory capacity.

This was worked out by the establishment in every state of a State Advisory Board, originally composed, in every state, of the Federal Director of the Employment Service as chairman and two representatives each of labor and industrial management, all three, men. Contemporaneously there was begun the organization of the Community Labor Boards, 1,400 odd of which are now functioning in all parts of the country. Originally the Community Labor Boards were composed of one representative each of local labor and management and one representative of the Employment Service as chairman. All were men.

Briefly the function of the State Advisory Boards is to assist the Federal Directors in determining questions of employment policy affecting their states; to supervise the selection of Employment Service personnel, to determine the location and territorial jurisdiction of the Community Labor Boards and to act as "courts of appeal" in the case of questioned decisions of the latter. The Community Labor Boards are mainly concerned with determining policies for the recruitment and distribution of local labor supply, the actual recruiting and placing work being done through the local offices and agents of the Employment Service.

In officering the policy boards entirely with men the Employment Service had no intention of slighting the woman power of the nation. Such consideration at first simply did not seem necessary. For a long time there had been a Woman's Division of the Employment Service for the placement of women workers, who at first were considered as a merely supplementary factor in providing the great industrial effort necessary to the winning of the war. Vision of the woman worker on a plane of achievement substantially equal to that of men was absent. The reason was that no one realized the full seriousness of the labor shortage which faced the nation.

AS soon as it became apparent that women would have to be called upon in great numbers to meet war production demands, the steps were promptly taken which have resulted in giving them equal power in the administration of the labor supply program.

First came the appointment of an Assistant to the Director General for Women's Work in the person of Mrs. Margaretta Neale, of New York, formerly head of the Woman's Division of the Employment Service. With the abolition of the outgrown Woman's Division came the logical development of women representatives in the five administrative divisions of the Employment Service. Under Mrs. Neale, as the special representative of the Employment Service for women's work, was appointed Miss Melinda Scott, a member of the recent labor mission to Great Britain and a well known figure in the industrial world, and a corps of women trained in administrative and executive work.

Then came the building up of separate offices in the field for the placement of women, carried out so actively that of the 900 branch offices of the Employment Service several score are now devoted to the placement of women alone, while most of the general offices also care for the placement of women workers. In every state, to supervise this phase of organization, authority was given for the appointment of a prominent and responsible woman to serve as assistant to the Federal Director of the state for women's work.

The development of local offices for women's employment has varied in different parts of the country, but in general has kept pace with local demand. Philadelphia, for instance, has two large offices devoted exclusively to placing women. New York, after developing one central office for women's employment, is now opening specialization offices. An office for professional women is located on Fifth Avenue. Several offices for industrial women workers are found on the East Side. The Women's division of the Employment Service in Pittsburg opened with requests for 5,000 women workers and is divided into professional, industrial, general clerical, department store and domestic sections in charge of women experienced in these fields in the Pittsburg district. These instances, of course, are only samples.

But the Employment Service did not stop with the establishment of special offices for the placement of women.

EARLY in September, realizing that women power must supplement the nation's man power to an unprecedented degree in order to fulfill the war productive program, the Employment Service issued orders that two women be added to every Community Labor Board, one of them to represent the working woman, the other to represent management. At first these women members were authorized to vote only on questions concerning the utilization of women in industry. On account of the protest of the women it has now been ordered, however, that the women members of the Community Labor Boards are to have full voting powers upon all questions considered by those bodies. Exclusive of the Community Labor Board chairmen, who is in all cases an officer of the Employment Service, women and men have identically equal representation on these important bodies. Their membership is composed of the chairman; one man and one woman representing local management, and one man and one woman representing local labor.

Furthermore, it has been recognized by the Employment Service that the interests of women were deeply enough involved in state organization matters to justify their representation on the State Advisory Boards. Orders have therefore been issued that two women, one representative of management and one of labor shall be added to each State Advisory Board of the United States Employment Service. They, too, will have full voting powers.

WITH the outline of the Employment Service organization in mind the significance of these far-reaching developments is clear. They came as a preliminary to the larger introduction of women in industry necessitated by the demands of war. They mean that the women officials of the Employment Service, beyond sharing the responsibility of placing women workers, will have equal responsibility in determining questions concerning the recruiting and distribution of men workers.

With the certainty that women must play an equal part with men in putting through the vast program of war production has come the fair and logical development of giving women an equal share in the jurisdiction of the war labor supply.

America, when the war is over, will not lightly relinquish those advances towards the true Democracy which world travail has brought.

This is a case in point.

Comments of the Press

Justice As a Necessity

WHATEVER President Wilson has advised Congress was necessary to the winning of the war, that has Congress done. Now he urges the passage of the woman suffrage amendment as a vital necessity. The House already had acted favorably and his appeal was addressed to the wavering Senate. There is no answer to his argument.

There is this to be said of President Wilson: When he is right he sticks to it; when he finds he is wrong, he loses no time in getting right. That is what he did ont the suffrage question. Several years ago he told the women he believed in the principles of equal suffrage, but it was a movement in which the state, not the federal government, should take the initiative. Now he tells the Senate that federal initiative is necessary to the early adoption of the measure and state initiative is impracticable, which is quite true.

When the militant sisterhood inaugurated picketing, their first placard scored the inconsistency of America fighting for democracy while its own democracy was incomplete as long as women were not recognized. Now President Wilson tells the Senate that very thing and adds that the whole world recognizes the inconsistency.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press, Oct. 1.*

Effective Work on Borah

SENATOR Borah, who is so progressive, but who voted against the woman suffrage amendment, has come right down off his perch. The threat of the Woman's Party that they'd go out and campaign against him brought him to his senses. That's the way to go for reformers who fight reform. Hit 'em where they live.—*New York Call, Oct. 30, 1918.*

Suffrage democratic Not Democratic

THE most notable instance of Democratic refusal to support the President was in the case of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, when President Wilson made a personal appeal to Democratic senators to support this amendment as a measure of justice to American women, and as a measure vitally necessary to the winning of the war—and that support was refused.

After that the Democratic campaigner who urges the independent voter to support a Democratic candidate for Congress or for any state office because it is necessary to stand by the President, makes himself ridiculous.—*Pueblo Chieftain (Pueblo, Colo.) October 18, 1918.*

In the Front Battle Line

AMONG enemy casualties reported yesterday was the dispersion of a group of militant suffragists in Washington, with a loss of banners and the temporary incarceration of three banner bearers.—*New York World, October 23, 1918.*

Predicting Defeat of Baird

UNITED States Senator Baird, who welched on his pledge made to Governor Edge to support the President in his war policies, is to have the opposition of the National Woman's Party in his campaign for election for the short term. That was to be expected, and that the equal suffragists have a large following among the New Jersey voters was shown by the primary returns, which gave Baird nearly 25,000 fewer votes than were credited to the three Republican candidates for the full term—Edge, Record and Gray.

Under normal conditions the loss of 25,000 votes by a candidate would mean his certain defeat; but there is little question that Baird will get the support of the Nugent-Hague-Liquor Dealers' crowd on election day—the same combination that worked so successfully three years ago for the defeat of the suffrage amendment to the New Jersey Constitution. On the other hand, there will, no doubt, be many Republican voters who will turn to Charles O'Connor Hennessy, because of their hostility to the reactionary corporation-loving, anti-suffrage Republican candidate, who was practically repudiated by his party platform.

The only issue involved is, Shall the suffrage amendment be passed by the United States Senate and the people of the states given an opportunity to decide for themselves, through their legislatures, whether the women of the country shall be given the right of suffrage?—*Trenton (N. J.) Times, October 19, 1918.*

Mr. Baird Not Attractive

MR. Baird is not an attractive candidate. He is identified with a type of Republicanism that does not command public confidence. His vote against equal suffrage is a legitimate reason for opposing him and for supporting Mr. Hennessy, who is an attractive candidate. But it does not lie with the President to object on this score while campaigning for the return of 102 Democratic anti-suffragists.—*New York Globe, October 28, 1918.*

Standing by the President

WHEN the Senate of the United States rejected the Susan B. Anthony amendment President Wilson sustained the first really important reverse of his entire program of "essential war legislation."

Of the 53 votes for suffrage 27 or more than half, were supplied by the Republicans, who are in the minority in the Senate. Of the 31 votes against the amendment 21 were supplied by the Democrats who are in the majority.

Two questions naturally arise in the mind of the public, as a result of this tragedy of freedom and justice.

One is, by what right does the Democratic Party boast of its superior support of the President in essential war measures?

The other is, how long will it take for the Senate of the United States to discover woman?—*Dayton Evening Herald, Oct. 2, 1918.*

Women Welcome in Campaign

ALTHOUGH only two weeks of the fall campaign remain in New Jersey, it is certain that the campaign here will lack nothing in the way of spice and ginger and enthusiasm. Both the Women's National Party, who are fighters of no mean order, and the New Jersey woman suffrage organization will push Hennessy's fight against Baird, and the fur is sure to fly, with both the militant woman suffragists and the conservative woman suffrage forces battling against Baird.—*Jersey Journal (Jersey City, N. J.) October 21, 1918.*

The Suffrage Vote

THE hollowness of the Democratic Party's pretense that it alone is representative of the nation's will to victory was exposed by the defeat of the suffrage amendment in the Senate yesterday. The reactionary Southern Democrats were deaf to the pleadings of their chief when his appeal ran contrary to their sectional prejudices.

That the German newspapers will exploit the defeat of suffrage as a repudiation of Wilson and as an evidence of America's war weariness goes without saying. Wilson's repudiation by the Senate will undoubtedly be construed as a slap in the face, because of his attitude as spokesman for the allies and his insistence on carrying the war through to a victorious conclusion.

In this country President Wilson has used his full personal influence to persuade Southern senators of the importance of the extension of suffrage to women as a war measure of justice and democracy.

To date no voice from Kentucky in the United States Senate has been raised in advocacy of justice to women. Will Kentucky women find themselves represented today in the Senate by our Democratic senators? Or will they be obliged to console themselves, as did the women of Missouri in the case of Senator Reed, that "they are not responsible" for Kentucky's senators? And will the Democratic men of Kentucky find themselves represented? In the House seven of Kentucky's eleven Representatives voted for the suffrage amendment when it passed that body. The most prominent Democratic papers of the state are at present warmly advocating the Susan B. Anthony amendment. It may fairly be concluded therefore that the Democratic voters of Kentucky stand for the women, with the President, and with our allies.

Will our Democratic senators today follow the lead of the President, or of the Prussian Diet and of Senator Reed of Missouri in opposing the extension of democracy?—*The Lexington Herald, Sept. 26, 1918.*

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Total collected by National Headquarters	2,552.25
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Total collected by National Headquarters through Nov. 4, 1918	363,790.93
Total collected by Branches through Nov. 4, 1918	69,310.52
Grand Total	433,101.45
Deduction: Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,067.50
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Total	44

Edge and Baird

THE effect of President Wilson's appeal to the voters of New Jersey for support in this crucial period of the world's history will be shown tomorrow in the vote for George M. La Monte for the long term United States senatorship and Charles O'Connor Hennessy for the short term United States senatorship.

His steadfast refusal to back the President on the woman suffrage issue, after his solemn pledge to follow the program of the nation's Commander in Chief, is the best evidence of what Baird would do when it comes to meeting the still graver issues that will soon loom up before the nation, following the cessation of hostilities.—*Jersey City Journal (Jersey City, N. J.) November 4, 1918.*

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